796 the houses. On that occasion some Badagas also do *pu:ja* to bring blessings upon agricultural implements and even school books.

177 Ka:rttige is followed by the month of Ma:rgaźi (December-
788 January), the most inauspicious month of the Dravidian calendar. Some Badagas have now adopted the Tamilian practice of daily *pu:ja* throughout the month. Early each morning a group of men goes along every village street singing *bajan* songs about Shiva and Vishnu. Before this daily tour the women clean the houses, put auspicious markings on the ground outside their doorways and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the *bajan* group has passed by. The many villages which have adopted this ritual conclude the unlucky month with a big communal feast.

177 In short, we find that there is some local variation in the form
796 taken by the borrowed memorial ceremonies and festivals. They
184 are not celebrated by all Badagas and those who do so show less enthusiasm for them than for native Badaga festivals. Furthermore, Badagas are much less enthusiastic about them than are the Tamilians and Kanarese now living in the Nilgiris.

GROWTH OF LINGAYAT TIES WITH MYSORE

177 Before the twentieth century those Badagas who were Lingayats were mostly illiterate and knew little about their religion as it was
795 practised in the Mysore homeland. Perhaps once or twice a year a
771 Lingayat *guru* would wander up into the Nilgiris from nearby Aṅgala or Nanjangud, selling *liṅgas* and performing family ceremonies (Harkness, 1832, 137); whatever he taught about the Lingayat faith would have been transmitted by word of mouth. In this century, in contrast, Badaga Lingayats are literate, and some
(484) are avid readers of books on Lingayat philosophy. Cheap bus
(494) transport has also enabled them to visit the Nanjangud temple and other places of pilgrimage easily and so to meet well-informed monks and priests in the towns of Mysore State.

177 One significant fruit of this increased contact has been a number of marriages between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeas have taken this step. However, the move for marital ties with Mysore has not found ready acceptance among most Badaga Lingayats, even though Kanarese brides usually bring a substantial dowry with
(578) them. For several decades this matter has been the subject

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Badagas in more matters than marketing. They are now able to go to town frequently—typically once a week—and their children can attend high school or even college without losing much contact with the home. (Ootacamund has two colleges and Coonoor another, all three affiliated with Madras University.) Literacy and newspapers in Tamil have spread, too, in part because of the easy transportation system. The literacy rate is now seemingly higher in the rural Nilgiri Plateau than in Madras City: in 1963, 78% of adult Badaga males and 52% of females were literate, while in 1961 70% of Madras City males and 48% of females were literate.[12] Even old Badagas are often quite familiar with daily news stories, weather forecasts and even some political predictions (cf. Hockings, 1965 a, *passim*).

The cheap railway and bus services have made visits to the great pilgrimage centres of South India possible for thousands: the famous temples at Cape Comorin, Madurai, Palni, Tirupati and Tanjore now receive Badagas almost daily. Nor must we overlook the business trip: increasingly farmers as well as traders find it worth visiting cities when they have a harvest to sell or bulk supplies to purchase.

The modern cities and great pilgrimage centres can have two different types of psychological effect: a city shows the Badaga visitor profusions of consumer goods, among them new household devices, radios, watches, bicycles and cameras, as well as interesting foods, cloths and ornaments; the pilgrimage centre, on the other hand, stresses ties with the mythical past of South India, with the gods represented in the temples, with priestly authority and with the grand history of the temples themselves. It is an important distinction: the man who goes to a distant temple may come home with his attention focussed on the past and on separation of the self from worldly matters, whereas the man coming from a business trip may be full of a desire to buy some implement he has seen or try out a new skill or save money so that his son may attend college in the city.[13] This distinction between the conservative and the modernizing effects of travel is to some extent paralleled in the choice between mythical and modern film themes or between religious and secular magazines. Not all contact with the cities necessarily introduces people to modern ways of life; not all who patronize radio, films or periodicals are drinking at a source of non-traditional knowledge, for though the media may be modern the villager discriminates in what he derives from them.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

when they are drinking liquor with the meal. Mutton, pork and chicken and the occasional game animals are either roasted or stewed in a curry. It is said that in the early days mutton was simply burned in the fire for a while, till it was dry.

Salt is generally used in cooking. ("If the curry is saltless, you can add salt; but if the salt has lost its savour, what can you add?") Badaga women also used to salt and dry surplus meat, frying it later when it was needed. The practice has now stopped because hunting has virtually ceased. Dried meat and other foodstuffs which last a long time are generally prepared for use in the rainy season. Tiger flesh, for example, should first be soaked in salty water, and then the pieces left on a roof to dry in the sun for 5-8 days. Tiger, pork, "ibex" and deer meat will spoil if not properly cured, but kept for too long; hence the proverb: "If [dried meat] is threaded and tied it will be spoilt as curry pieces; if it is burnt and eaten the stomach will be spoiled." In pre-British days when men occasionally had to go on long trading expeditions they took a foodstuff prepared from wheat flour, salt and crude sugar, which was cooked by steaming and would keep for months.

Meals

2.3. There are several proverbs that refer to eating, especially to the undesirable effects of over-eating. It is believed a person cannot work well if he eats too often: "A woman who eats once a day will be healthy; a woman who eats twice a day is healthy; a woman eating thrice daily will be chronically sick." And again, "He who controls his eating will not become sick; he who can control his talk will have no fights;" or alternatively, "Too much talking will end up in a quarrel; too much eating will end in short breath" (Metz 1864: 93). Greed is expressed in the adage: "One person is saying there is not even salt for the evening; another is saying [he wants] sugar for the afternoon." Similarly, "When you can afford to wait till the food is prepared, you can't wait till it gets cool." Finally we can cite a proverb referring to the use of wild plants and to dietary differences between the rich and the poor: "If it is eaten by a wealthy man, it is for medicine; if eaten by a poor man, it is because he has nothing else for his stomach." It is felt one should work hard and eat well enough: "If there is mud on the hand, there is curd in the mouth."

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

without some further notes on body ornaments. Men as well as women usually wear gold earrings, which are still made from melted gold sovereigns. Women also have gold nose-rings, always worn in the left nostril. Gold, silver or brass armlets may be worn by women just above the right elbow. Numerous silver, gold or glass bangles will be on the wrists; men too wore a silver bangle and silver or copper toe-rings until 50 years ago. Silver or steel rings are worn on the fingers of both sexes (Thurston 1909: 81-82). Necklaces of great variety are also favoured by girls. In general, where gold ornaments are too costly women wear them in filagree silver, brass, copper, iron or steel instead (Grigg 1880: 220). Badagas believe that if a person wears gold, the length of his lifetime will be greater. One might think that wearing gold invited theft; but in fact it seems that this did not often occur amongst the Badagas. Throughout the nineteenth century men, when travelling from village to village, carried a walking-staff with a small axe-head in lieu of the handle, for protection. When however they were to walk to the plains on a trading expedition (prior to 1825) they would first divest themselves of all ornaments, including even their silver waist-bands and any richly made cloak. They were clearly very afraid of brigands, even though they travelled in a group of up to 100 men.

This still does not complete the list of ornaments, however. Priests wear a silver ring during each festival. Some of the headmen wear gold or silver "rings of office" on their fingers, given to their ancestors by East India Company officials or even earlier chieftains of Mysore. The headman of Ke:ti wears one called *sinaganige*, which his ancestor seems to have taken from another Badaga headman after a hand-to-hand fight. It is now worshipped in his home every Monday. Such rings can always be given as security against a fine, and are conventionally worth 1,000 rupees in gold coins. Women who go barefoot — still the great majority today — wear silver rings on three or four toes of each foot. (In Southern India slippers are associated mainly with Muslim women and Hindu dancing girls.)

Until about 1930, it was the custom for men to carry non-collapsible umbrellas made of palm leaves on a cane frame. (Such umbrellas can still be seen in Kerala occasionally.) Since the Nilgiri Plateau is very wet for a part of the year (roughly 20 ins. in May-July, and another 30 ins. the rest of the year), these or their more recent Western equivalents often substitute for a walking stick. Until very recently it was thought disrespectful to the men for women to carry

up or down the Nilgiri escarpment by hand, on horseback, or on bullock carts (Ward 1821: lxv). With such a restriction it was impossible for Badagas to export fresh vegetables to other parts of India, even had they been interested in doing so (Grigg 1880: 480).

In 1899 a railway was completed from Coimbatore to Coonoor, and by 1913 it reached as far as Ootacamund. Its construction involved Badaga contractors and Badaga laborers, giving to many their first experience of earning cash by working. When the 1914-1918 War began there was thus a quick and easy means of exporting fresh vegetables to all parts of India, and even beyond.

During the years between the two wars trucks became a common phenomenon in the District, and roads were improved to accommodate them. Some of the Badagas who became middlemen purchased trucks to improve their business.

At this time a local bus service also began. In the years since World War II the network of bus routes has become so complex that there is no longer a Badaga hamlet anywhere which is more than three miles from a bus route leading to one of the towns. 57 different routes are now traveled within the Nilgiris District, some by several competing companies.

The existence of buses in such profusion has helped the Badagas in more matters than marketing. They are now able to go to town frequently -- typically once a week -- and thus their children can attend high school and even college without having to lose their close contact with the home. Literacy and newspapers have spread, too, with the help of the easy transportation system. Literacy today is quite as high in the rural population of the Nilgiris as it is in Madras City, according to a survey which I conducted: in 1963, 77.8% of Badaga males, and 51.8% of females, were literate; whereas in 1961 69.6% of Madras City males, and 48.2%

of females, were literate (India 1962: 133). Even old Badagas are often familiar with daily news stories, with weather forecasts and political predictions.

One of the most important benefits of the bus system, at least in the eyes of the Badagas, is that it permits frequent trips to the movie houses. Film-going is an important event in the lives of most Badaga families today; what they see has a great impact on them; and in nearly every family there is at least one film-goer. Some of the most popular films are dramatizations of Indian history or of the epic stories. These are presented in such a way that they reinforce traditional ideas about Hinduism and the nature of the universe. But equally popular are the films about "modern" life, about social problems such as divorce, widow remarriage, "love" marriages and intercaste marriages; dramas which are presented against a background of affluence that is a new experience to the villager. These "modern" themes extol urban life, untraditional marriage practices, and the desirability of owning such luxury goods as cameras, watches, radios, mechanical toys and sports cars. The impact of these films is already clear: younger Badagas yearn for watches, cars, cameras and all the other paraphernalia that they have come to associate with modern urban life. A sample of 301 Badaga males in 1963 gave this information about their film-going habits:

Frequency:

Never go	17.6%
Rarely go	23.9%
Once a month	19.9%
Once a week	19.3%
More than once a week	1.7%
(Not ascertained)	18.3%

(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes Kasuva AW63

234 361 (342) wall, and a bough barricade. The dwelling-hut has a low sleeping level, the necessary churn-pole for processing milk, and a fireplace set in a low platform. Five calf-huts surround the dwelling-hut, and there is also a separate calf-pen. All the hut walls were constructed with posts placed next to each other, and roofs were thatched. Kinkara Hundi, also used in 1963 and located close to Bhavani Hundi, is situated next to a stream and extensive shola (Figure 12). Post, branch, and log fences enclose a large circular cattle-pen, a smaller cattle-pen, and a calf-pen. There are three calf-huts next to a (343) dwelling hut. The calf-huts have post walls, and the dwelling-hut has stone walls. Grass thatching was placed over all the roofs.

During the 1963 season only one group of Badaga shepherds was 234 361 contacted by the writer (Plate III, D). The seven men taking turns in living at Kinkara Hundi were herding 92 buffaloes and 40 cattle. (221) Livestock driven westward in February were to be taken back in May. The herders came from Ithalar and Poratti, where they left wives and other relatives during the dry season preceding the main agricultural 234 439 season. Milk was daily supplied by the Badagas to tea shops near the upper Bhavani dam site, where all activities ceased during the westerly monsoon. Clarified butter was sold in the Ootacamund shandy. • (484) The daily walk to the tea shops was about six miles one way, while on periodic walks to Ootacamund by a different herder each time a distance exceeding 20 miles was covered. Grains and other edibles were 262 (439) obtained from homes, stalls near the dam site, and the Ootacamund shandy. Milk and milk products, excluding clarified butter, also 234 formed a part of their diet. Livestock were being milked only in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 691